

*Protender*

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*Case 23*

# Scandal Display'd :

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## A Word in Season.

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An ANSWER to a Paper, Entituled,  
Advice to the Electors of Great Bri-  
tain; occasion'd by the intended In-  
vasion from France.

**A**Mong the many scurrilous Pamphlets that have lately appear'd abroad there's none calls more for an Answer, than that which bears the Title of *Advice to the Electors of Great-Britain, occasion'd by the intended Invasion from France*: For since *Foe's Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, no Pamphlet ever carry'd in the Face of it a more base and villanous Design.

The Author, with an Impudence yet unknown to the most harden'd Jesuit, laying aside all regard to Truth, Justice, Honour, or Conscience, gives himself a boundless and extravagant Liberty, of casting the foulest Defamations upon a great, if not the greatest part of Her Majesties good Subjects, charging them with the most dangerous and capital Offences: And tho' he may think himself as much above the shameful Punishment of the Pillory, as he exceeds that Author in Art and Malice; yet his under Agents are so apprehensive of the just Punishment they deserve, that they have taken care to let this scandalous Paper steal into the World, without either the Name of Printer or Publisher.

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But, as when a great and catching Contagion begins to spread in a Nation, it is the part of an honest and prudent Physician to inform the World of their Danger, and what Preservatives and Antidotes are most likely to put a stop to the Malignity of a threatening Distemper : So when such venomous Papers as these fly abroad, that have so natural a tendency to poison the Minds, to raise and inflame the Passions, and to impose upon the Understanding of Mankind, whereby the Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom is disturbed, the Welfare of the Nation threatned, and the Prince and Government in danger, every good Man that wishes well to his Prince and Country, let the Peril be what it will, will endeavour to prevent that Mischiefe which the Enemies of it design, by discovering the Methods and Arts they make use of to compass their base and wicked Ends.

It is therefore proper to consider, what the end and drift of this Paper chiefly seems to be, and by what Arguments and Proof it supports what it advances.

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Now the main Design of this Paper, is *to convince the Nation, that ever since there has been a Pretender in France, and whilst there is one there, those they call Tories, always were, and ever will be, both by Principle and Practice, in his Interest.* By what false Colours and specious Arguments, by what positive, groundless and bold Assertions he endeavours to prove this, is now our business to enquire.

This Author needed not have given himself the trouble to have proved, *that the French would never have undertaken their late dangerous Expedition for Scotland, if they had not received great encouragement to it from France, and very large Promises too from England, for this is a matter no Man yet in his right Wits denied ; but whether those that gave him those Promises did not likewise give assurance, that tho' that Expedition should miscarry, yet it should not prove a dangerous one, is a Question I am as unable to determine, as whether this Author does not, according to the usual Methods practised in such cases, endeavour to cover his own black Treason, against his rightful and lawful Queen and Country, by boldly and impudently charging his foul Crimes upon so great and innocent a part of the Nation : Men that have always distinguish'd themselves by a steady Zeal and Adherence to Her Majesty, at a time when it was very much out of fashion to look towards St. James's : Men that have as much Honour and as great Stakes as himself can pretend to ; Men who since Her Majesties happy Accession to the Throne, have always acted with Hearts as full of Loyalty and Duty as 'tis possible for Subjects to bear to their Prince, and some too from such natural as well as moral Bonds, which no other have the Honour to pretend to. These are Questions worthy the Enquiry of a Parliament : For it seems much more reasonable*



sonable for any Man to believe, or, to use his own Words, No Man that thinks at all, can think otherwise, *That it is much more probable for an unknown single Person, that dare neither by himself, nor any body else, avow what he writes, should be a Villain, and betray his Country; than that a whole Body of Men, both Lords and Commons, some of them as ancient Nobility and Gentry, others of as good Fortunes and Families, Men under all the Ties both of Duty and Nature, of as known Honour and Abilities as any Subject whatever can pretend to, should be guilty of such base and unnatural Treason as he boldly charges upon them.* But to consider the Proof of what he asserts, he tells you in the first place, *This Nation is unhappily divided into two Parties. And this Distinction he lays as the Foundation of his great Enquiry, which of these two Parties is most likely to have invited over the Pretender, or give him reason to depend upon their Interest and Assistance.* Now in this Distinction, and the stating of the great Enquiry, as he calls it, there happens unluckily to be so very many Mistakes, that a Man would wonder a Person of the least pretence to Reason, could be guilty of them, did he not consider with how much Art this Author writes. For first, The nature of the Question is already very much alter'd. At first it was, Which of the two Parties gave the *French* the Invitation and Encouragement: But now it is, *Which invited over the Pretender.* Between which two Propositions there's a wide difference; which would better appear, if any Man knew what Views some Persons had in his coming thither. I'll go no farther, remembering what Sir Francis Bacon somewhere says, *That in many cases Truth is very hard to be known, and not fit to be utter'd.* He is again mistaken in his division of this Nation into two Parties, when it is as evident as the Sun, that we are at present unhappily divided into four, to wit, the *Tory*, as they call them, the *Whig*, the *Jacobite Papist* and *Nonjuror*, which I think ought not to be separated, and a *Party of new Converts*, which never shew'd their Strength, or appear'd as a form'd embodied Party, till upon occasion of breaking the *Scotch* Privy-Council; and then shew'd themselves so considerable, that both *Whig* and *Tory* too, when they had joined their utmost Strength, could carry that Question from them but by a very few Votes. But it is apparent by the Art that he has made use of here, that this Mistake was a very wilful one. He is not so little Master of Reason, as not to know, that it is the Rule in all disjunctive Arguments, as in Division, that it is necessary to the reason of the Consequence there should be a sufficient Enumeration of all the Parts, without which, the denying of any thing of one part is no proof at all that it is truly affirmed of the other, and therefore to prove the truth of what he asserts, That none but the *Tories* could have given this Invitation, he should, if he could have prov'd any thing, have said, Since the *French* have been invited over hither by some Party of Men amongst us, it must have been either by the *Tory*, the *Jacobite* and *Papist*, the *Whig*, or the *New Party*; for there are no more. But he

was not invited over hither by any of the three last, and consequently must have been invited, since he was invited over, by none but the *Tory*. The Author knew this so well, that he purposely forgot two of these Parties. Perhaps he is at present *unwilling* the Nation should have the least intimation that there is any such Party as *the new Converts in being, or how considerable they are*. And as to the *Jacobite Party*, he says there's no occasion to mention them, because they do not own the Government, and are so inconsiderable. He could, if he had pleas'd, have given a better reason for his leaving them out; which tho' he has prudentially thought fit to omit, I cannot but put him in mind of, which is, That most of the *Jacobites* (who disown the Government) voted for the *Whigs* in the last Election; from whence any indifferent Man may judge how little these People thought the *Tories* in the Interest of the Pretender, and what their opinion of the *Whigs* was, whose Interest the leading intreaguers Men of that Party did so zealously espouse. But he carefully omits touching this too, as knowing it a very tender point, and might lose the *Whigs* a great many Votes the next Election. And tho' it were to be wish'd those sort of Men were less considerable than they really are, yet whoever will reflect upon the Addreses of the Parliament to Her Majesty, the Queen's Proclamation, the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the great resort of Papists, Nonjurors, and Jacobites to this Town, the swarms of Priests and Jesuits, cannot think this Party of Men so inconsiderable as he would make the World believe: Tho' he has a very good opinion of the Strength of his own Reasoning, that can think it a convincing Argument that these Men had no hand in inviting the *French* and Pretender hither, because they are openly and avowedly in his Interest; I might turn the Argument upon him, and by the same reason prove, That had this Pretender invaded us with the least success, this Person, because he declares so openly and avowedly to be in the Interest of Her Majesty and Government, would neither have supported or assisted Her; the Consequence is full as strong and reasonable. There is yet a third, much of the same nature of the former, which shews the implacable Hatred that this Author has, not only against particular Men, but against the whole Party, of all degrees whatever, whose Characters in Church and State might have secured them, one would have thought, from any such unjust Assault, for his Hatred goes against the whole kind, and cannot satisfy his Revenge with falling upon one or two. Now to shew the weakness of this Argument, though I never heard of *any one Tory in England*, upon whom he can fix, what he charges the whole Party with; yet, suppose he could, would not any Man in the World think this a very Weak, False and Scandalous Argument. *Greg* was in the Secretary's Office, and held a Correspondence with *France*, *Valiere* was employ'd as a Spie, by a Secretary of State, his Iniquity is Mysterious; and, consequently, all in that Office held a Correspondence with *France*, and their Iniquity is Mysterious: Would not any Man



Man that should dare to affirm such a Falshood justly deserve to be punish'd; and yet this is his way of arguing and setting Things, as he calls it, in a true Light.

But to prevent Mistakes, before he goes any farther, he thinks it time to convince the World *that the Whigs and Tories too act now from the same Principle they did in the time of King Charles and King James*, and that the Heads of the Two Parties are very well known, and here likewise he is fallen into Two very gross Mistakes; for first, most of the Leading Whigs, except one or two, were so far from being Heads of Parties then, however they may *tos up the Nose now*, that they were such little inconsiderable things as not to be known, or not so much as heard of in Parliament, and how Men could act by Principle in any Publick Station, at a time when they were not in a Capacity to act at all in any publick Employ, is as hard to determine, as it is evident even from this very Paragraph, that this Author has run off from one of the great Principles of the Whigs in those Days, for it is well known *how great a distinction the old Whigs made between the Prince and the Court, that is the Ministry; and how much they thought the Safety of the Nation and the Preservation of the Constitution depended upon the Preservation of this Distinction, which made them very often distress King Charles his Court, out of Duty to his Majesty, Zeal and Concern for his Preservation, and Fidelity to the Trust reposed in them by their Country*, for they very well knew though the Interest of the Subject is always the true and inseparable Interest of a Prince, yet there is a very great difference between the *Interest of a Prince, and the Interest of a Court that is the Ministry*. It is the Interest of a Prince never to suffer an *over greatness in one or two Ministers*, to be themselves Judges of Affairs upon the Debate of their Councillors, and what Persons are fittest to be employed in their Service, and never to trust the Reins of Government out of their own Hand, to have the Abuses, Grievances and Miscarriages, whereby their good Subjects are peel'd, harrafs'd and ruined, look'd into, and when the Authors are found out, punish'd; to have all Places of Trust, Profit and Power depend immediately upon themselves, to have the Forces provided for by the People, employed to the Ends and Purposes design'd, and the Money applied to those Purposes to which it was appropriated: But 'tis often the Interest of Courtiers to make themselves necessary; and thereby, in a manner, force the Prince to make use of no other but themselves, and such as they recommend, though the Inclination of the Prince should be never so much to the contrary; to get the Reins of Government as much as they can into their own Hands, and all the Places of Trust and Power into their Dispose, to prevent Complaints of Miscarriages to come to the Prince's Ear; but if they happen to be too Flagrant and Clamorous to be denied, then their Interest is by *great Promises, large Gratuities, and solemn Assurances, to perswade one sort of Men to assist them, by popular Amuzements, and fruitless Enquiries; and, at the same time, endeavour*

*deavour to divide another sort among themselves, and do their utmost, by private Whispers, and secret Messages, to prevail with them to an unseasonable Silence, till the Storm be a little blown over, all Supplies provided for, and Men begin, after a wearisom and fruitless Expectation of Redress, to work themselves to a more patient Submission under those Miscarriages, of which they see no Hopes of Redress, hoping before fresh Complaints can be made, they shall, by their Power and Interest, be able to make a distinct Party of their own, so superior in number to the others, that they need not be in any Apprehension of any thing, that either, or both the others, when joined, can afterwards intend or attempt against them.*

It is not my Intention in answering this Scandalous Paper, to perswade the Electors to choose *either a Whig or a Tory*, or to draw Arguments from the Characters and Principles of either Party, to prove that the Nation cannot be safe in any other Hands, but such as go under the Name of Tory, which Name I am not ashamed of, notwithstanding all this Author's foul and groundless Reflections; but I think nothing can be more contrary to the Interest both of Her Majesty and Government than the Design he all along pursues, I mean the Endeavour to keep up this unhappy distinction, to widen our Differences, and heighten our Animosities, and therefore my Vote *shall never go for any Man who has no other Recommendation but the Character of being either a Whig or a Tory*; and, it is most evident to me, that if Men would govern themselves in the ensuing Elections by this one single Maxim, to choose Men to represent them who are *valuable enough to be bought off from the Interest of their Country, and yet have so steady an Honesty, as not to be influenced or byassed by any Consideration of Personal Advantage to do any thing contrary to it*: Let them be call'd what they will, the Electors are as safe in such Representatives, as the utmost Prudence of Man can make them.

But my Business is to shew how much this Author has abused the World in affirming that the *Whigs all now by the same Principle as they did in the time of King Charles and King James*.

It is, I think, a self evident Truth that to Men who have extinguished the natural Notices of Good and Evil, which are the great Principles implanted in our Mind, as the Light and Rule which ought to govern our Actions, to Men who have lost the Sense of all Difference between Good and Evil: To such Men I say no advantage of Education, no largeness of Understanding, greatness of Experience, Maxims of Honour, Bonds of Friendship; nay, scarce the firmest Resolution, especially if they are so unhappy to be of an implacable and resenting Temper, can ever be strong enough to keep and secure such Men from being bias'd and drawn aside by  
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the force of Temptations, suited either to their Ends, Interest or Constitution; but the real acting from a Principle is a thing so truly noble, that it is no Wonder if Men, who act the least by it, do make the greatest Pretensions to it. And now I might tire the Reader, should I enumerate the many Maxims the Old Whigs in King Charles and King James's Time governed themselves by, relating to a *standing Army, Liberty of the Subject, a single Ministry, a Chargeable Favourite, a Pensionary Parliament, free and unaw'd Elections in the Choice of their Representatives, garbling of Corporations, Foreign Alliances*, and many more that might be mention'd, and compare their Principles relating to those Heads, with some late Practices of those that are now call'd Whigs, and how early the Inventions of *Usurpation, Conquest and Desertion*, were found out by Men who call themselves *Whigs*, meerly to cover the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and to keep that safe and sound; some of whose Works were burnt by order of Parliament, and others that escaped the Flames, merited them as well, if what a Person I mean Mr. Johnson, one who suffered as much for his Nation, in the Reign of King James, and serv'd it as well as any other Whig whatsoever, may be believ'd. The Instances are so many, and so notorious, it makes it almost needless to mention any, were it not to shew how directly contrary this Author, in this very Paper, acts to the known avowed Principles of the Whigs of those Days, even whilst he endeavours to perswade the World that the Principles and Practice of the Whigs now, are the same they were then, for nothing in those Days was more odious, or met with sharper Reproofs in Parliament from the Whigs, than *to be an Undertaker for Parliaments*, and yet never any Man pretended half so much to undertake for a Parliament as this Author confidently presumes to do, as if he had them absolutely at his own dispose; and, indeed, had he not some such Presumptuous Perswasion, one would be at a Loss to think how he could promise himself any Security; for not being questioned for the False and Scandalous Assertions that he so positively affirms, and has published to the World in this Scandalous Paper, when he dare venture to say, That the *Tories were the Party inviting the Pretender, and that the declaring his Legitimacy, and voting him immediately the Successor to Her Majesty, has been a Matter more than once under their Consideration*. I would not be mistook, as a Person who have such an Opinion of any Party, as to think that all of them are exempted from the common Frailties of Men, and above the reach of any Temptation. Experience has annually shew'd us the contrary, some of both Parties having upon occasion, whether from the Conviction of their Conscience, from Expectation or Gratitude, from Disappointment or Resentment, started aside like a deceitful Bow, and left their old Friends and Company; how many Tories, as well as Whigs too, could I name, whose Actions have given undeniable Proof of this; but it is an astonishing Wonder to see Whigs valuing themselves, as some have lately done, for supporting

ting those who were formerly look'd upon to be as very Tories as any in the Nation; and, that even in the Impeachments against some of themselves, did all that they could to countenance and support them, and used all their Power and Interest, and gave their Votes too, for *that persecuting Bill, as they call it, against Dissenters*; and now is not this another Instance what true old Whigs some Men are. But, to conclude all, I take it to be a Matter as inconsistent with the difference and great Regard I bear to the High Court of Parliament, either to presume to prescribe what they should do or affirm what they will do, as by any sly insinuation, to anticipate their just Enquiries into any Miscarriages; be the Authors of them who they will, and therefore this bold Undertaker is very secure of having no answer from me to those many groundless and defamatory Assertions that are meer Inventions of his own Brain, supported by no Evidence or Proof, and calculated on purpose at this present Juncture, to asperse and blacken so great a part of the Nation.




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**E I N I S.**

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